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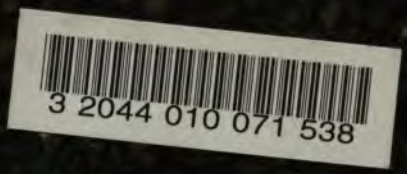

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A SPEECH

ON

THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY;

DELIVERED 7TH SEPT'R., 1835,

AT

A PUBLIC MEETING

OF

The Citizens of Barnwell District, South-Carolina.

By EDMUND BELLINGER, Jr.

"Endorsed by Necessity,—Sanctioned by Religion,—and Justified in Law."

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

Charleston:
DAN. J. DOWLING, PRINTER,
89 BROAD STREET

1835.

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TO THE

INHABITANTS OF BARNWELL DISTRICT.

FELLOW-CITIZENS---

The following Speech, (written off and published at the request of my friends,) is very respectfully dedicated to you, before whom it was, (in substance,) delivered. Although published, I have used proper precautions to prevent its being circulated among any but those who are Southern in sentiment, and Southern in conduct—*to none other is it addressed* I beg you to be assured that in thus presenting to you my remarks I am influenced not by feelings of vanity, but by an earnest wish to benefit if I can, the Citizens of a District, from whom in times of political excitement, and at all times, I have experienced in my professional pursuits, the most kind regard and the most cheering encouragement. I beg you to be further assured that however we may have differed as to other matters, *on this subject* there is, and I trust, can be between us no difference of feeling or principle. Whatever may be the course of future events, in the cause of Southern Institutions you will find me with you "shoulder to shoulder," sharing a *common interest* and ready to encounter *a common danger*.

I remain,

Respectfully &c.

EDMUND BELLINGER, Junr.

Barnwell Court House, Sept 1835.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

The following Preamble and Resolutions, unanimously adopted at the Public Meeting alluded to, were drawn up by E. BELLINGER, Jr., and approved of by the Committee of Twenty-one:

The commitee of twenty one, to whom this meeting has referred the subject of *Incendiary publications*, respectfully present the following Report:

Your committee deem it alike *unnecessary, undignified* and *improper* to enter into *discussion* in defence of our rights and interests, as connected with the *domestic policy* and *peculiar Institutions* of the South. It is enough, and more than enough, that neither that domestic policy, nor those peculiar Institutions violate *any rule of morality—any principle of justice* or *any precept of christianity.*

It is enough and more than enough. that those rights and interests were *guaranteed* and *secured* in the most *express* and *solemn and binding form* by the Constitution of our common Country.

It is enough and more than enough that the attitude which we maintain, has been forced *upon us* not only by every principle of *self preservation*, but by *a stern fixed* and *unalterable necessity.*

It is enough, and more than enough, that we understand our rights—that if *strong hands and high heaats*, and a *just cause* can avail, those rights *shall be preserved.*

While however your committee decline entering into argument on the present occasion, they would suggest the propriety of our adopting such measures as will ensure the preservation of property and good order.

And after the most *earnest* and *anxious* consideration of the subject committed to their care. they present for your approval the following Resolutions.

1st *Resolved*, That any attempt to interfere with our domestic policy, whether by the Federal Government. or by the constituted authorities, or the people of other States, would be, and is alike *unconstitutional unjust* and *iniquitous* and we proclaim our *stern* and *fixed determination* promptly to repel such interference *at any and every hazard*

2d *Resolved*, That we view with *abhorrence* and *detestation* the attempt to deluge our State with Incendiary publications ; and that we consider the authors of such attempts no more entitled to the protection of the Laws than the *ferocious monster* or *venomous reptile.*

3d *Resolved*, That the detestable conduct of such *miscreants* as Arthur Tappan and his *villainous crew*, cannot be countenanced or *tolerated* without the incurring of guilt *second only to their own*; and we trust, that the constituted authorities of those States, in which they carry on their nefarious and *diabolical* proceedings, will see to it, that *Justice Humanity* and *Religion* are no longer outraged.

Earnestly and solemnly do we invoke the intelligent, just and patriotic citizens of those States, by the force of public opinion and legal penalties to crush those *vile and infamous wretches*, whose schemes of rapine and massacre will, if unchecked inevitably end in the destruction of American Liberty.

4th. *Be it further Resolved* That if those States do not adopt *prompt* and *effectual* measures for preventing their Citizens from printing and publishing books and papers, and from holding meetings and delivering addresses calculated to *disturb* the *peace* and *subvert* the *Institutions of* their Sister States then it will be the duty of the South without delay to refer the cause of southern rights to the united wisdom and United power of the Southern States.

5th. *Resolved*, That the bringing or circulating within these States of any written or printed papers, and also the holding of any conversation with an intent to disturb the *peace of the same, in relation to our colored population*, ought to be declared felony, and punished by death without benefit of Clergy.

6th. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of Congress so soon as practicable to adopt suitable measures for preventing the United States *mail* from being *converted to the purposes* of *incendiaries* and *assassins*.

7th. *Resolved*, That it is the *imperative* and *indispensible* duty of each and every post master in the District, to exercise the utmost vigilence and promptness in seizing upon the Incendiary pnblications sent to his office, and in delivering up to the proper authorities *to be burnt by the common Hangman*.

8th. *Resolved*, That the proper authorities should bear continually in mind the *absolute necessity* of enforcing (promptly and rigidly) all laws in relation to Militia and patrol duty—in relation to *unlawful assemblies* and other subjects *well understood*.

9th *Resolved*, That the Chairman of this meeting do appoint a committee of *thirteen* individuals residing near the *centre* of the District. to whom shall be added as sub-committees, the militia officers residing in *each* beat company. That the duty of these committees shall be 1. To *confer* with the post master within their respective limits. 2. To seize upon and have burnt all Incendiary publications 3. To see that the necessary and proper laws are duly enforced, 4 To keep an eye upon all *suspicious* characters. 5. To be *vigilant*, *prompt* and *energetic*, in bringing offenders to condign punishment. 6. And in general, to take care of the rights and interests of the District *against incendiaries*.

10th. *Resolved*, That no man at the South can *knowingly* purchase from or trade with any abolitionists, or any *merchant who deals with any abolitionist*, without subjecting himself to the charge of *being inimical to Southern rights and Southern interests*.

11th. *Resolved*, That the Chairman of this meeting be instructed in the name and in behalf of the Citizens of the District, to offer a reward of $1,000 for the detection and delivery, to the committee of thirteen, or the Sheriff of the District, of *any individual guilty of interfering with our peculiar rights*.

12th. *Resolved*, That all Ministers of the Gospel, with their churches, be earnestly requested to *co-operate* with us in our designs; and in particular, to *allow no improper privileges*.

13th. *Resolved*, That while all unnecessary excitement should be avoided, it is the duty of each individual to exercise his utmost vigilance and caution, and to be at all times *thoroughly prepared for the worst*.

14th. *Resolved*, That where the Laws of the Land are insufficient to meet the emergency, the Laws of *natural justice* and *self preservation* shall supply the deficiency—we *are deliberately* and *advisedly determined* that the *guilty shall not escape.*

15th. *Resolved*, That we fully and cordially concur with our fellow citizens of Charleston in the resolutions adopted at their meeting of the 10th ult. and that like them "we are united as one man in the fixed and unalterable determination to maintain our rights and defend our property against all attacks—"be the consequenees what they may."

16th. *Resolved*. That collectively and individually we do solemnly pledge ourselves to *support our common rights* and *common Interests, whether against Fanatics abroad*, or *Traitors at home.*

The following Resolutions were also offered by S. W. Trotti, Esq. and *unanimously* adopted.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting and of the South are due to the *independant* and *patriotic* citizens of *Philadelphia* who *alone* among the non Slave holders, have *truly* met this crisis, by recommending the suppression of incendiary movements within their own borders by *Legislative action* the *only certain method* of ensuring safety to the South without a dissolution of the Union.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Aiken Telegraph, and Charleston papers.

In pursuance of the ninth Resolution, the chair appointed Joseph Howell, Jesse Rice, Jos. G. W. Duncan, A. B. O'Bannon, James E. Robinson, Wm. J. Harley, Joseph D. Allen, Lewis O'Bannon, Barnett H. Brown, Michael D Maher, Ferdinand Bruton, James Patterson, and Edmund Bellinger, as the Central Vigilant Committee of the District.

GEORGE W. COLLINS, *Chairman,*

WILSON SANDERS, *Secretary.*

SPEECH.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of this Meeting—

We are all citizens of South Carolina! We are born and we live not for ourselves alone, but for our Country! And when that Country is endangered, it is the duty—the imperative duty—of each individual, however humble or obscure, to come forward in defence of her rights and interests openly without reserve, and promptly without delay!

If this were a common occasion—if we were met to deal in abstract discussions resulting in no practical good—if this day's proceedings were intended to make a display in the newspapers, and then be forgotten, it would be unnecessary and indecorous for one like myself, standing in no public relation, to occupy your time and attention.

But we are met on a solemn—I had almost said an awful occasion. We assemble to consider the subject of Incendiary Publications, and to provide measures for preventing our State from being inundated with the papers of reckless fanatics. But intimately connected with the object of the meeting is the consideration of the subject of Slavery as existing at the South. And when we reflect on the delicacy and danger of an improper discussion of the subject—when we bear in mind that the Domestic Policy and peculiar Institutions of the South have been subject to the grossest misunderstanding and the vilest misrepresentation—that even *some among us* have adopted erroneous views—that every mail from the North brings information of open hostility or inefficient friendship—that but as yesterday an infuriated People in another section have taken ample and bloody vengeance on the projectors of a hellish conspiracy—that of the memb

conspiracy no less than 35 were within the borders of our State,and perhaps some of them (though God forbid!) within the borders of our District—when we look to the attitude of the North and the South in relation to this subject, and see the course of daily events, we cannot be blind to the fact *that we are entering on a conflict most tremendous*, and that we are now to consider *matters involving the Rights and Liberties of our State and the destiny of our Common Country!*

Never have we assembled under circumstances so momentous!

Never has there been such need of calm collected wisdom and unshrinking firmness.

While, however, such are the important and portentous considerations connected with this meeting, it is to me, (and I believe to us all) a source of high and unmingled gratification that we assemble for no party purposes, and with no partizan feelings The time has been when the lines of party divisions were distinctly and fearfully drawn,—when there was mingled in our political contests bitterness, and even hostility. But that time is rapidly passing away—if it has not already passed away!

To the patriotic and magnanimous expressions of the gentleman who has preceded me,I freely and fully and promptly respond! *Here we meet on common ground!* We this day give assurance to each other, and declare to the world that, when we compromise *no Principle* hitherto sustained, we mutually forgive and forget whatever of unfriendly feeling there may have been in the past,—that while we are divided by an honest difference of opinion on doubtful and abstract points and on views of expediency, to the Interests, the Rights, and the Honour of Carolina, our hearts are yet true to the core —that they beat

"Pulse to Pulse responsive still."

We are here to day as inhabitants of the same district, *as members of one household*, ready to rescue our Rights from jeopardy!

What are those Rights, and how are they jeopardized?

I am aware, Mr. Chairman, that these are matters which will not admit of free and open debate! I am also aware that with our *enemies*, to use the language of the report which was just heard, "it would be alike unnecessary, undignified and improper to enter into any discussion in defence of our Rights and Interests as connected with the Domestic Policy and Peculiar Institutions of the South." In particular, the miscreant Murrel and the fanatic Tappan, deserve and will receive at our hands no reply but *Cow-hide*, or *hemp*, the *lash* or the *halter!* But at a meeting like this, where we are consulting for the good of the Republic, where my remarks are to be considered confidential and intended to go no further than those who hear me (or our friends,) there can be no danger, and may be great advantage in examining the *foundation* of our Rights and the truth of those loathesome charges which unholy fanaticism and detestable avarice have combined to heap upon our heads!

Among those charges, some of the few which time is afforded to notice, are that this system of Slavery as existing in South Carolina and in the Southern States generally, is condemned alike by Justice, Humanity, and Religion—"that we are a disgrace to humanity—that we have forfeited all title to be called men of Honor, or to take a place in the same grade of Society as the people of England—that we are felons of the human race—the basest and the vilest of mankind—Traitors to Liberty, to our honour, and blasphemers of the Almighty."

This Language has been stated in order to show the nature of the charges and the *spirit* and *feelings* with which they are advanced. They have been echoed and re-echoed across the Atlantic, from the fanatics of the North to the fanatics of Europe, until our accusers seem in their sympathy for one part of our population to have *lost all feeling* for the other—until one would imagine that *these disinterested friends of humanity—these meek and pious christians—these self-constituted* (aye *self-prostituted*) *reformers of Southern degeneracy*, consider cut-

ting our throats and burning our dwellings as *appropriate* and *indispensible* parts in their labour of Love.

Let us turn from this disgusting picture to a serious and solemn examination of the *fact*—Let us satisfy our own consciences and our own Honour. There are some even among us who consider Slavery an *evil*, though a *necessary* evil—as a *wrong*, though an *unavoidable* wrong. And in this they are properly considered by the advocates of Abolition to have *the strong ground* of our defence. *I* make no such *erroneous* and mortifying admissions. Let us suppose that the State of South Carolina were arraigned before the Tribunal of the world, or the Tribunal of Posterity, *to answer for the Crime and the evils of Slavery!* Mark her Justification!

I wave the argument that the nonslaveholding States have *equally* participated in the guilt of the origin of Slavery to use no harsher terms.

I wave the argument that the English Nation are chargable with having forced the System upon her American Colonies; and that in the Declaration of Independence as originally drawn by Mr. Jefferson, it was stated (among the grievances which had produced the Revolution) that the King of England steadily resisted all efforts of the Colonies to prevent the introduction of Slaves.

I wave the argument that the nonslaveholding States, while shunning Slavery as an evil and reprobating it as a crime, have participated and do *still* continue to participate largely *(though indirectly)* in the *profits* of Slavery!

Behold (as a practical commentary) the great Abolitionist of the North attacking the peace of the South and endeavouring to corrupt the minds of our Slaves with means furnished *by a trade with the South.*

I wave the argument that the condition of our Slaves is *comfortable* and *happy*—beyond comparison more so than that of the lower classes in those Countries where Slavery does not exist by Law.

I wave the argument that our Laws for the regulation of Slavery and the protection of Slaves are *wise* and *humane.*

I wave the argument that the masters of our Slaves in the South (and especially in Carolina) from a sense of justice and humanity (though *self-interest* alone would ensure such a result) discharge with fidelity and strictness their duties towards those who are dependent on them for food, clothing and protection: and that those masters do more for their comfort and happiness, both temporal and eternal, than ever has been effected, or ever will be effected, or ever can be effected, *by the preachings of Fanaticism*, and *the Practices of Folly*.

I wave the argument, founded on the example of Greece, of Rome, of the English Colonies, and of the United States confirming the lesson of History, in all Countries, and at all times, *that the People are most free, prosperous, and happy under those governments, which recognize Slavery*.

I wave the argument, founded on the instances of St. Domingo and the West-India Islands, which furnish startling commentaries, on the direful consequences of Abolition. Aye, Commentaries *written in characters of fire, and dashed with blood!*

I wave the argument that there is *no* State in the Union where the *badge* of Slavery is not recognized; for there is no State in the Union, where the coloured population are admitted to a full participation of the rights and privileges of the Citizen. They are in all states a degraded and inferior Class—the *same* causes which keep them in a state of *avowed* Slavery at the South, keeps them at the north in a state of Slavery under the disguise of freedom!

I wave the argument, founded on the *political* advantages of slavery in ameliorating the condition of the female sex—in acting as a barrier for the safety and comfort of the lower orders,—in protecting the peace and quiet of the country against the turbulence of *mobs*, in preserving pure the elective franchise—in ennobling the spirit, and perpetuating the institutions of liberty.

I wave the argument that in all countries slavery will and must exist. If not recognized and regulated by law it will be seen in fact. If there are no black slaves, a substitute

found in the lower class of citizens; nor will I pause to institute a comparison, between the negro of the South on the one hand and the French peasant or the English or *Northern* servant or the German Boar, or the Russian serf on the other.

I wave the argument that the system of *negro* slavery has been in operation *for the last three hundred years* and that the experiment has been fully and *successfully* tried.

I wave the argument that this is our property, like other property, bequeathed to us by our parents, or earned by the sweat of our brow—by the hard efforts of honest industry.

I wave the argument that no authority on earth has the *right*, nor, if we are true to ourselves, the *power*, to strip us of that property or to crush the hope that we will be enabled to leave some small pittance to our children, who in a few years will take our places when time and affliction shall have laid upon us their heavy hands, and checked and destroyed the vigor and alacrity of our brighter and better days.

Let all this go for nothing; brush it away as so much trash. I take *stronger* and *higher* grounds! what has been and is our position in relation to this subject? We are not chargable with the guilt of the origin of slavery—The system wos forced upon us—It has become *intimately* connected with the interests and happiness of our people—It forms a part and an exceedingly important part of our *social* and *political existence!* and we say *that the system shall be continued*— the relations of master and slave shall not be changed—we will resist and resist to the most bitter extremity, all attempts at Abolition, whether *present or future—general or partial—immediate or remote!* On this subject we have advisedly made up our minds! To use the language of one of the resolutions reported, 'we proclaim our stern and fixed determination promptly to repel, at any and every hazard, any attempts to interfere with our domestic policy;' and I may add, we also proclaim our stern and fixed determination, *that this domestic policy shall, as far as in us lies, be perpetual!*

Such, Fellow-Citizens, has been our position and such will be in future our course of conduct. And I maintain *that this*

position, and this course, is enforced by necessity,—sanctioned by religion, and justified in law. Mark my words and watch my argument narrowly! If I do not make it appear beyond contradiction or doubt, *that this position and this course is enforced by necessity—sanctioned by religion, and justified in law,* then I shall fail in my effort.

Enforced by necessity.

If our course has been wrong—If slavery is an evil and a crime, there must be a change, what shall be done? Emancipation in itself is an easy task. It is easy to pull down and destroy—it is easy to ignite a mass of gunpowder! Let an *insane* Legislature, supported by an *insane* people remove all prohibitions and obstacles to the contrary—Let proclamation be made that the relation of master and slave has ceased to exist, and the work is done! But what next?

Those admitted to freedom must be either *sent away* or *permitted to remain.* They *cannot* be sent away.

1st. Because it would be utter ruin to our staple commodity, white labor being totally incompetent to supply that of negroes.

2nd. Because the value of our lands would be reduced to nothing.

3rd. Because to take out of our state property to the amount of the value of our slaves at a moderate average would give a fatal stab to the prosperity of our State.

4th. Because it is presumed that in any scheme of emancipation, the right of property is to be respected; whence would the compensation come? what Treasury on earth could compensate the planters of the South for slave labor? This court house *screw-packed with bank bills,* could not supply the loss which the farmers of this district would suffer from such a change.

5th. Because the expense of exportation would be intolerable.

6th. Because all plans of colonization hitherto adopted and it is presumable that no efforts have been spared, have proved

miserable abortions—the *pitiful* result of the splendid scheme of fanaticism.

7th. Because the weight of the Southern States in the federal council, would from the consequent loss of representation be weakened and destroyed.

8th. Because exportation would be ruin—utter ruin *to our slaves themselves.* It would be the direst cruelty that could be inflicted on a race of unoffending mortals. It would be sending them forth to beggary and starvation, or to perish horribly in mutual slaughter.

They could not be emancipated and suffered to remain.

1st. Because this would bring upon our slaves *many*, and upon ourselves *all*, the evils attendant on emancipation and exportation.

2nd. Because the negro is from his intellectual and moral organization *incapable of being civilized* or of enjoying freedom: utterly incompetent to become a *citizen* of a civilized community.

3rd. Because instead of being (as they now are) peaceable, industrious, well-regulated and happy beings, they would become *unruly*, *idle*, *turbulent* and *wretched beyond description.*

4th. Because they never could participate in the rights and privileges of the white citizens. So far from rising to refinement in life, they would corrupt the principles of one half of our population and drag them down—down to their own *depraved*, *degraded*, and *disgusting* condition!

But there is one consequence—certain and inevitable—arising from emancipating and retaining our slaves, which the eager and zealous disciples of abolition and universal emancipation seem to be incapable of understanding.

All history shows that the same country cannot contain free races of men, too distinct and different to amalgamate, without destruction to one or the other, or both. See it in the fate of the Aborigines of this country. So long as the *color* remained, (if all the causes of difference could be removed) there could be no union. The contest would lead to a fierce and desperate struggle for supremacy, ending in the exter-

mination of one, or the other, or both! Cold must be the bosom—*Satan-like* the heart of him who can contemplate such a prospect without dismay and horror.

Yet such would be the result—the *inevitable* result of the alternative to *exportation.*

It does appear to me, Mr. Chairman, that there is in this matter *a stern necessity* beyond our control. The thing *can* be done. Our colored population can cease to be slaves by being chased out of the State—our white population can cease to be masters "by running away from their homes or submitting their throats to the knife. But it *cannot* be" done without destruction to slave and master—it cannot be done without plunging our happy state into ruin— it cannot be done without sacrificing all that we value, all that we love, and all that we reverence as freemen, as parents, and as citizens of South Carolina. If *this* be not necessity, then words have lost their meaning!

We have no alternative or choice. Give it as granted that slavery is an evil, *which I totally deny*—give it as granted that slavery is a crime, *which is libellous and false*—to us *and* to our slaves there is no relief but ruin—no antidote but death. For us to part from this species of property, must be regarded as an *impossibility.*

Those who may imagine that any change is to be effected in our domestic policy, might as well talk of making the Edisto run backwards—they might as well talk of picking up Barnwell District and *chucking* it to the other side of the Savannah —they might as well talk of travelling in a steam car to the moon! or (to use more solemn language) they might as well talk *of blowing up the foundations of our State,* or of *thrusting us (slaves and masters) into one common grave.*

Sanctioned by Religion.

It is here that the Abolitionists seem to triumph with an air of the greatest exultation. With the Bible in one hand, and an incendiary tract in the other, they go *roaring* through the land, invoking the blessings of Heaven on their schemes, and imprecating its vengeance on our guilty heads.

A slight examination of the subject will show that the Abolitionist, who thus makes an exhibition of his *charity*, is *as ignorant of scripture* and *regardless of religion*, as he is blind to the *condition* and *circumstances of our slaves.*

I need not dwell on particular passages in scripture, though it is remarkable that the Jews were permitted to enslave *their own children*, provided they did not sell them to foreigners. see Exodus; c xxi v 7. Nehemiah v 5 that the slave is mentioned in the Bible as the *absolute property* of the master because 'he is his money.' see Exodus c xii v 44 c xxi v 21 and that of the ten commandments, *two* of them (the 4th and 10th) recognize and indirectly sanction slavery, see Exodus c xx v 10. 17.

Nor need I contend (as might be *fully* proved by plain quotations from scripture.)

1st. That the venerable Patriarchs were *Slaveholders* in every sense of the word; see Genesis, xvii. 15. 24. 27 Genesis; xx. 14. xxx. 43. In particular, Abraham (the founder of the Jewish race and the beloved servant of God) must have been the master of nearly a *thousand* slaves, since on one occasion, see Genesis, xiv 14. he led to the field of battle upwards of 300 *fighting men—slaves, born in his own household.*

2nd. That the original curse of filial disobedience is being fulfilled in slavery. Genesis: ix. 24. 7.

3rd. That under the Jewish theocracy, men were *born slaves.* Genesis: xiv. 14. xv. 3. xvii. 23. Jerem. II, 14. Psal. lxxxvi. 16, c. xvi. 16.

4th. That under the Jewish theocracy men were *bought* and *sold as slaves.* Exodus xxi. 2; 6Lev. xxv. 44, Gen. xvii. 23.

5. That under the Jewish theocracy, captives in war were reduced to slavery. Josh. ix. 27, Deut. xx. 14, xxi, 10, 11.

6. That under the Jewish theocracy, a thief was sold when he could not pay his fine. See Exod. xxii. 3.

That individuals sold themselves, through poverty, see *Lev. xxv. 39,* 47, and that creditors were allowed to seize

insolvent debtors, and sell them and their children, see Lev. xxv. 41, 2d Kings, iv, 1, Matt xviii, 25.

7. That the system of slavery, under the Jewish theocracy, was *absolute* and *perpetual*, Lev. xxv. xxv. 44, 1 Sam. xxv; and in many other respects, (such as marriage, testimony, and the condition of the offspring) similar to our own. Exodus xxi, 4, &c.

8. Or that God, so far from having expressed his disapprobation, sanctioned the system, and repeatedly provided for its regulation. See Exodus xxi, Lev. xxv. Deut. xvi, Jer. xxxiv, 8-9.

It is *enough* for my purpose *that Slavery did exist*—was *recognized* and *established* under the Jewish theocracy. If any one will still insist that we, upon whom the system of slavery *was forced*, and who are constrained by necessity to continue the system, deserve the *maledictions* of that Deity, under whose *blessings* a System of Slavery was *originated*, he is guilty *either of contradicting the History of Holy Writ*, or *of blaspheming against God.*

Turning to the New Testament, I find passage after passage enjoining *the most implicit obedience*, See Luke vii. 8. Ephesians vi. 5. 9. Col. iii. 22 25. iv. i. Titus ii. 9. 1st Tim. vi. i. i. 2. 1st Peter ii. 18. 19. 20. *Philemon.* And *nowhere in the Bible*, from the commencement of the first verse in Genesis to the last verse in Revelations—do I find the system condemned. But if any doubt remain on our minds, behold the example of Christ! He found existing the system of Slavery handed down from the *original establishment* of the Jewish Government. He found existing (under the Roman Government) a System of Slavery, the most grinding and galling—under which the master, (sometimes the owner of no less than 4000 Slaves) had the power of life and death—under which the slaves was not permitted to testify, save under torture—under which the luxurious Roman, threw his offending menial into his pond, to fatten his fish—under which, if a master was killed, his slaves, (in the absence of proof) were put to death without mercy or discrimination! What was the conduct of our Saviour while on earth, and of

the apostles after him? He did not make inflammatory addresses, or circulate *incendiary Papers!* He did not denounce the System *even* of Jewish Slavery! He did not endeavor to excite *sedition* and *revolt*! He did not convert the contented, and happy Bondsman into a dark and desperate Rebel! He did not attempt to turn loose one half of mankind upon the other! He did not point to the end of his schemes "equal rights," and 'universal emancipation!' No! *Other* and *different*, were the purposes of his holy mission, and *in another* and *in a different* way, were those purposes fulfilled! He came to enlighten, to purify and to redeem! If the system of Slavery was noticed, it was to enjoin the performance of their duties on master and slave! He pointed to "a better world, and led the way." His language and his acts were directed to that "glorious consummation," when "corruption should become incorruptible"—when "the mortal should put on immortality"—"when he who suffered in Gethsemane's garden" and died on Calvary's mount, should speak to captivity, freedom, and call his exiles home!

Then let those who flatter themselves that Scripture authorizes on their part an *impudent* and *mischievous* interference in our domestic policy—let them look to the example of our Saviour! Let them "go and do Likewise."

But I fear such an appeal is in vain made to men over whom ignorance and fanaticism, exercise their baleful influence!

They are more deaf than the adder. Their hearts are harder than the nether millstone.

From such men I turn to "Christians at home." I select *the most scrupulous, the most pious* and *the most venerable* Minister of the Gospel, and I say to him, "Servant of God, and pastor of your flock—you behold the System of Slavery as it exists in your country! you behold how it forms a part of our social and political existence—you behold the Slave comfortable, contented and happy—you behold the master kind and humane—you behold that country prosperous and flourishing! you understand the necessity by which that System is enfor-

eed! you know the direful consequences which a change must produce both to Master and Slave! you are conversant with Holy writ! you know, and you practice the precepts of Religion! you have before you the example of our blessed Reedemer! What judgment do *you* declare and what course will *you* pursue? will you not *repeat* the injunctions of obedience which the Holy Book contains? Will you not infuse into the bosom of both Master and Slave, the spirit of true Piety? Will you not lend the influence of your voice and conduct, to preserve, and continue a System, on which depends the welfare, and perhaps, the existence of your country? Will you not imitate in this manner the *example* of Christ and his holy Apostles? Or will you declare that the Bible condemns and denounces Slavery? Will you act consistently with that declaration? Will you endeavor to overthrow that System? Will you become the *agent* and the *Fool of the Northern Fanatic* and *the Western Pirate?* In the name of Jesus, and the cause of Holy Religion, will you—Oh can you 'scatter throughout this community and this country, 'fire-brands, arrows and death?' I *trust*; I *know*, that you will not! If any minister should be deaf to this appeal, then I envy neither his *feelings* nor his *faith*! I would recommend to him to trust his salvation on *surer* grounds! Certain I am that the *less* he reduces *his* piety to practice, it would be well for the Gospel of Christ, and better for *himself*.

I have thus far, Mr. Chairman, argued this matter *as though* it came within the legitimate jurisdiction of the Church, and was to be decided on scripture grounds. I have done so because I was anxious to satisfy the doubts of all among us, and to show myself ready to meet the attacks of our opponents at *any* and *every* point. But in my humble judgement, the Bible has nothing to do with the decision of this question.

All history shews, that when the Scriptures are applied *as an arbiter* to the subject of civil institutions, they become an instrument of cruelty and mischief. True, it is religion exercises (and very properly exercises) an influence over all the objects of temporal life. True also it is, that the Bible

furnishes the most excellent rules for regulating the conduct of both master and slave. But it does appear evident to me that the Scriptures have no more bearing on the *guilt* or *innocence* of Slavery in South-Carolina, than they have on the guilt or innocence of war, or on the defects and excellencies of the various forms of Government. It does appear evident to me that the Christian, who undertakes to condemn slavery by garbled and mutilated passages from scripture, (and *possibly* such may be found,) would act as wisely as the general who would besiege a city after the manner of Joshua before the walls of Jerico; as the people who would choose their governor by lot; as the carpenter who would frame his building according to the dimensions of Noah's ark; as the plaintiff who would claim a *cloak* on the authority of Matthew, v.40; or to come to matters of fact, as the Judge, who cited Scripture on a trial for *witchcraft!*

If, however, the scriptures *are* to decide this controversy, I think I have shown that *we* need not dread the investigation! And further,—there are passages, which might be considered peculiarly applicable.

Thus I read, "thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."—Exodus xx. 16. I read, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's servant."—Exodus xx. 17. I read of those who can see "a mote in their brother's eye, more readily than a beam in their own."—Matt. vii, 3, 4. I read of those who "use their liberty" for a cloak of maliciousness.—1 Pet. 11 16. I read of those who promise liberty, while *they themselves* are the servants of corruption.—2 Pet. 11 19. I read of one Barrabas, who was put in jail for *sedition*.—Luke xxiii 25. He escaped, though his imitators in modern times seem likely to receive more *meritorious* treatment. If those who keep such a *mouthing* about scripture and slavery can digest these passages to their satisfaction, they may read *farther*, and fare *worse*. In any aspect of the case, I feel assured that religion *sanctions* the course which we pursue, and that with confidence may *we* invoke the blessings of Providence, in aid of our course.

Justified in Law.

Driven from the Bible, the fanatic resorts to law, and plumes himself on the position *that slavery is illegal—contrary to the principles of natural justice.* This position, thus broadly announced, I *distinctly* and *confidently* deny.

It is somewhat remarkable that "almost every page of ancient history demonstrates the great multitude of slaves; which gives rise to the melancholy reflection that the world has been best peopled when not a world of freemen, but of slaves;" and that if a system of slavery is contrary to natural law, nature has in all ages and in all countries been so slow in vindicating her principles.

But I meet the position *fully.* I contend that according to the law of nature and nations, Slavery may arise

1st. From war.

2d. From the state of property and the feebleness of government.

3d. From bargain and sale.

4th. From debt.

5th. From the consent of parties.

6th. From crime.

7th. Where from physical, intellectual, and moral causes, the party is *incapable of enjoying freedom.*

That this matter is not to be decided on abstract principles of justice and liberty; but must be viewed in relation to the social condition of man, and the *circumstances* under which the system in question originated and exists.

In particular, I contend that Government and Laws are established for the greatest good of the greatest number—that to the Southern slave, food, clothing and protection are *ample equivalents* for the loss of freedom—that Liberty is to be considered as a practical good, and that where from *natural* and *permanent* causes, Liberty could not be enjoyed, *Slavery is a blessing*—that this is a case in which the question of *Right* is resolved into a question of *expediency;* and no man (unless he is blind to fact), but must know that the voice which would proclaim freedom to our slaves, would proclaim the

loss of comfort and happiness to *them*—of liberty and life to *us*.

I contend further, that our system of Slavery is justified on the same grounds (to wit, the progress of civilization, and the unquestionable laws of necessity), as the exclusion of the Aborigines of the country from their possessions.

"It arose from *the necessity of the case*."

"Their [the Indians] title has been obliged to yield to the combined influence which military, intellectual, and moral power gave to the claim of the European emigrant."

"To leave the Indian in possession of the country was to leave the country a wilderness, and to govern them as a distinct people, or to mix with them, and admit them to an inter-community of privileges *was impossible* under the circumstances of their relative condition. *The peculiar character and habits* of the Indian nations rendered them incapable of sustaining any other relation with the whites than that of *dependence* and *pupilage*.

"There was no other way of dealing with them than that of keeping them *separate*, *subordinate* and *dependent*, *with a guardian care thrown around them for their protection*"

"The weak and helpless condition in which we found the Indians and the immeasurable superiority of their civilized neighbors would not admit of the application of any more liberal and equal doctrine."

"It was founded on the pretension of converting the discovery of the country into a conquest, *and it is now too late to draw into discretion the validity of that pretension or the restrictions which it imposes*.

"It is the law of the land, and no Court of Justice can permit the right to be disturbed *by speculative reasoning on the abstract Rights*."

See 3d Kent's Commentaries p. 380.

When therefore the "descendants of the pilgrims" can show *a legal title* to their *Land*—when they can "clear their skirts" of the blood of the Indian—when they shall show cause *why the original* occupants should not be restored to their

possessions, then, and not till then, can they call on us to show a legal title to our *Slaves*, or to show cause why we are resolved to continue the system of Slavery.

That they should undertake to lecture us into our moral duties, or to preach a crusade against our institutions, *is an instance of Pharisaical pretension, hitherto without example, and I trust, for the future, without imitation.* Nor is such a course of conduct on the part of some of the people of our sister States the less remarkable, when it is considered that our peculiar rights and interests are guaranteed and secured in the most express and solemn and binding form, by the *Constitution* of our common country! This is a topic so plain and *palpable* that I will not stop to argue it.

I will not dwell on that part of the articles of the confederation [Art. 2] and the constitution of the United States [Amend. Art. 19], which secured to the States the rights and powers not granted.

I will not dwell on that part of the Constitution which recognized and permitted even the Slave Trade, for a certain term of years. Art. 1, sec. 9, cl. 1.

I will not dwell upon that part of the Constitution which declares that our Slaves flying into another State, shall be given up, on demand. Art 4, sec. 2, cl. 3.

I will not dwell on that part of the Constitution which provides that the Federal Government shall protect us against domestic violence—*if we should ask their protection.*—Art. 4, sec. 4.

I will not dwell on that part of the constitution which *distinctly* and *expressly* recognizes slavery as constituting one of the component parts of representation. Art 4, sec. 2, cl 3.

I will not dwell upon the fact that our system of slavery was well known to the other members of the confederacy *when* the union was formed.

I will not dwell upon the fact that it was well known and thoroughly understood by all parties concerned that *we* never would have adopted the Federal Constitution had not a guarantee been given to secure our peculiar rights.

I will not dwell upon the fact that when the non-slaveholding states formed a union with us, whose peculiar rights they *guaranteed*, they recognized the existence and *admitted the legality of slavery*.

I will not dwell upon the fact that in 1790, a committee in Congress (composed entirely of Northern men) reported a resolution (unanimously adopted) *that Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves or in the treatment of them in any of the states*.

I will not dwell upon the argument that our rights in this matter are *paramount* to the Constitution of the United States and that no alteration or amendment of the Constitution can affect those rights.

I say I will not dwell on this topic because I cannot believe that our rights, under and above the Constitution of the United States can or will be questioned: and because *if* they are questioned, *the case admits nat of wordy debate*.

We will read our charter *with the bayonet for a pointer; blows will be the argument and blood the illustration!*

There is, however, one argument derived by the Fanatics from the Declaration of Independence, and to which I will give a passing notice.

It is said that our Declaration of Independence proclaims *all men to be equal, &c.*

This seems to be a *favourite* argument, for it was introduced with much *formal gravity* at a late Anti-Slavery meeting in London, accompanied with the remark "that we (the southern Planters) had forfeited all title to take a place in the same grade of society, as the people of England." Truly our English friends have forgotten, upon whose heads rests the guilt of the Slave-Trade; or whom that same Declaration of Independence charges with exciting domestic insurrection. They have equally forgotten, their own local institutions—they have equally forgotten certain passages in the Revolution and the late war. It is not the first time, however, that they have *turned their backs upon us!*

If there was any thing in the argument, the non-slaveholding States would have to explain certain of *their* laws which declare that some men, (their colored population), are *not* equal to others! If there was any thing in the argument, those who advance it, will find it necessary to *reconcile* their argument with the *Constitution* of the United States, which recognizes slavery. But the argument is *ineffably ridiculous. The dirtiest chicken thief—the most atrocious murderer*, might use it with *equal* reason! Even the King of the Abolitionists if placed in the dock before us, which he doubtless would *honor* as much as Allen Pace, or anyother of the many worthy personages who have "put themselves upon the Country; even *he*: when arraigned for seditious practices" under our A. A. 1805 or 1822, might contend *that all men were born free and equal*; and that the court had no authority to interfere with *his* unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And doubtless he would take further exceptions, on the ground of the commandment "Thou shalt not kill." I presume, however, that his defence would scarcely avail him, either under the general issue or as a special plea! He would not be the first graceless defendant, whose construction of the law "had the advantage of his life."

We know the meaning of the Declaration of Independence. We know the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, *and we know how to support the construction.*

But however weak and untenable may be deemed my argument, as founded on the principles of natural and national law, and the Constitution of our common country, I turn with the *utmost confidence* to the laws of our own State—laws obligatory on her citizens, and not to be *revised* or *questioned* by the people or authority of another State. It is not my intention, and it would be out of place to enter into any learned disquisition about the *sovereignty* of the State; nor will I venture into that "Serbonian bog in which so many have floundered, and out of which" so few have escaped.

It being admitted and undeniable, that the Constitution of the United States has in no respect impaired (but in many

confirmed) our rights in this matter, neither the Federal Government, nor the Government, nor the People, of any other State or country, can interfere with our Domestic Policy, and peculiar institutions, without violating, and *grossly violating* the most plain principles of International Law—principles too clearly settled to admit of argument now, and too clearly settled to need it. "This results (*the Constitution of the United States having no voice in this matter*,) from the simple assumption and recognition of Sovereignty. Those who assume it claim the right to govern within their own boundaries *according to their own pleasure;* those who recognize it disclaim the Right to interfere in the Government of the country, whose sovereignty is recognized. The abstract right or wrong of what is done within the limits of Sovereignty is not a subject of practical consideration for those by whom that Sovereignty is acknowledged.

If Devonshire in England, Normandy in France, Dutchess in New-York, or Bucks in Pennsylvania, should complain of the oppressions of their respective governments, it is sufficiently plain that their complaints could not be even formally examined by States who admitted the Sovereignty of England and France, of New-York and Pennsylvania. This is the General Principle which regulates National Society—It is well that such is the usage. Much wrong is doubtless done in the world; but far greater evils would ensue if governments (or people) like Political Quixottes, taking the high road in quest of adventures would couch a lance against every injustice, real or imaginary, that they encounter by the way. *Let the fanatic meditate on this*, remembering that the present dispute is not concerning the *intrinsic merit* of the Policy (of South Carolina) towards (her colored population) (though as to justice and humanity of policy, we dread not investigation) but concerning the *right* of other powers to interfere between the parties."—Oglethorpe.

I say as to the justice and humanity of that policy, we dread not investigation—I do not allude to the principles of self interest, of honour, of morality, and of religion, which

have *hitherto* ensured, and must always ensure, to our Slaves care and protection;—I do not allude to the *actual condition* of our slaves as furnishing *palpable* proof of good treatment;—I allude to *Laws* recorded in our Statute Book, and supported by the authority of the State—imposing penalties on those who shall beat or disable a slave without cause (Public Laws page 165) for bidding them to be worked on the Sabbath (P: L. p. 168) or for more than a certain number of hours during the day (P L p 174,) compelling their owners to allow them proper and sufficient food and clothing (P L p173) Punishing severely cruelty to Slaves,(P L p 173.) In particular the Statute which subjects heavy penalties on whomsoever kills a Slave, (his own or that of another) in sudden passsion, or by undue correction (P L 173 A A 1821 p 12)—Still more particular by the Statute which prescribes for the wilful murder of a Slave, the punishment *of death without benefit of Clergy* (P L 172 A A 1821 p 12). And as a practicul commentary on the Spirit of our Laws on this subject, I might refer to Cheetwood's case (Dec. Term,1834 Columbia) in which our supreme court, after elaborate argument and great deliberation, unanimously decided that under the A A 1821, the murder of a Slave was to be adjudged in Law *on the same principles* as the murder of *a free white citizen.* I might also illustrate the remark that altho' our Legislature have determined that our Slaves shall be protected by the Laws, and to leave unadopted no measures which could ensure their comfort and safety, yet such are the *principles* of our Citizens that the Laws which I have enumerated are in fact *useless lumber.* I am certain that (save professional men) very few of our people ever heard of such Laws. *In South Carolina Slaves need no penalties for their protection—Masters need no Legislalation to make them careful, kind and humane.* But enough —I speak with due advisement when I say that *our* Laws and *our* conduct in relation to *our* Slaves will not (to say the least) suffer by a comparison with the conduct and the Laws of the Citizens of *any non Slave holding State* in relation to their Coloured Population. And be it remarked that this

defence is *entirely gratuitous*. Were our conduct and our Laws the *reverse* of what they are, the *imprudence* and the *guilt* of interference would not be *greater*, nor would our Rights to repel that interference be *less*.

Nothing therefore remains for me on this topic but to show the Laws, and Policy of South Carolina. I pass over the A A 1820 p 23 in relation to Incendiary Papers; and the A A 1805 p 50, A A 1822 p 13 in relation to seditious practices, remarking however, that (according to the best legal authorities) the penalties mentioned in these A A would be incurred by any individual who then being *without* the limits of the State shall thro' the agency of the mail or of others commit the offences (specified) within the State: that these A A have *in fact* been grossly and imprudently violated: That although Art. iv. sec. 2, Cl. 2d, might be considered insufficient to meet the case, yet on the Principles of International Law, (which the constitution of the Constitution was *not* intended to abrogate—see in point Anderson's case, 1st Hill's Reports, 327,) the Executive of this State would, on proper legal proceedings being instituted, be authorized to demand Arthur Tappan and his fellows in villainy *as violators of our Laws*, and no doubt a salutary lesson would be taught, if a few of these *impudent miscreants* were brought before a jury of the country to answer for their crimes—to meet face to face a People whose Rights they have attacked, and whose feelings they have outraged by their base and nefarious conduct. But I pass on to considerations of a higher import. Previous to the year 1740 our citizens held this species of property by a very precarious and uncertain tenure. Slaves then were no doubt in great numbers, but the system, though introduced and allowed, was not recognized and regulated by law; and it was even supposed that baptism would confer freedom. Such a state of things could not exist long after a government was permanently established. Accordingly in the year last mentioned, the legislative authority, declared "that the power of the master over such slaves, ought to be *settled and limited* by positive laws, so that the slaves may

be kept in due subjection and obedience and the owners and other persons having the care and government of slaves may be restrained from exercising too great rigor and cruelty over them and the public peace and order of the province may be preserved." They then proceeded to enact (P. L. 163.) That this class of persons "*shall be deemed, taken, reputed and adjudged in law chattels personal in the hands of their owners, and shall be and are hereby declared to be and remain forever hereafter absolute slaves.*"

They then enacted various Laws and Regulations in consonance with the just, wise and humane sentiments expressed in the Preamble to this important statute, which was intended to benefit, and has *benefitted alike* master and Slave. But the Legislature of our State foresaw that a period might arrive when individuals, blinded by ignorance or maddened by Fanaticism, would attempt to disturb, (so far as their efforts extended,) the fundamental Policy of the State; and with a sagacity, (which the present state of affairs shows to have been unerring) they declared by the Statute of 1820, p. 22, *that no emancipation should take place*, save by Legislative authority. Thus it appears not only that our Rights in this particular are recognized by the Laws of the Land, but that we are *forbidden* (*under forfeiture*) *to wave those Rights.*

Let it not be imagined that I am guilty of the absurdity of citing our own Statute Book to justify our own conduct. I have made this exposition of Carolina Law, *in the first place*, to impress on the minds of our fellow citizens the long established and permanent policy of our Laws, *and in the second place*, to show *to the world* that our Rights are guarantied by a Charter which *no* earthly authority (our own government excepted) can rightfully question.

And now, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully submit to this meeting whether I have not sustained my proposition, *That our position and our course of conduct in relation to this peculiar species of property is Enforced by Necessity, Sanctioned by Religion, and Justified in Law.* If in this I have been successful, not only have I redeemed the pledge given in the opening

of my remarks but I have brought the minds of those who hear me to the unavoidable and *practical* conclusion *that we are bound to maintain that position and to pursue that conduct by all the considerations of Necessity, of Religion and of Law.* And I am thus particular and pointed because I have perceived with astonishment and regret that our *true* position and policy has been totally misunderstood in other sections of the Union. Thus, at the great meeting held at New York, and at which no less than ten thousand individuals attended for the avowed purpose of expressing opinions *favourable* to the South, I find it *taken for granted*, that Emancipation is an object as much desired by the *South* as the North provided it be *gradual. Immediate* Emancipation is condemned. Nay more, those who addressed that meeting and whose remarks were received with a thunder of applause, uttered such sentiments as those I read from the reported proceedings—"That Slavery is a great evil, we do not *pretend* to deny." [Did the Orator find this concession *necessary* to make *even* those Resolutions go down ?] " The South admits it, [call you that backing your friends ?] says another Orator, " Slavery was no doubt a *disgrace*," (Spirit of Carolina ! who is it that flings at thy fair fame *this black dishonor ?)* " Slavery was no doubt a disgrace but it was descended from our fore-fathers." Departed Marion, Moultrie, and Laurens ! could disgrace descend from you ! Never ! You bequeathed us an Inheritance of Rights and Glory ! Those Rights are yet unimpaired ! That Glory is yet untarnished ! Mr. Chairman, the Language which I have quoted must proceed *from ignorance the most gross*, or *from hypocrisy* "double distilled." I cannot abide it—I tear it to pieces—I dash it to the ground—I put my foot upon the loathesome thing and say, *That if any man at the South makes but a movement towards Emancipation—general or partial—immediate or remote—he is faithless to the duty which he owes to his Slaves—faithless to the duty which he owes to his State—faithless to the duty which he owes to his God !*

I speak advisedly and not in passion. I trust that I am heard when slowly, solemnly, and emphatically, I repeat it,

That if any man at the South makes but a movement towards emancipation—equal or partial—immediate or remote, he is faithless to the duty which he owes to his slaves—faithless to the duty which he owes to his State—faithless to the duty which he owes to his God!

I know not Mr. Chairman, how others regard this matter; but for myself I consider the station of master as imposing the most *sacred* and *indispensable* obligations.

I give it as nothing that the system of slavery is too deeply fixed to be eradicated—I give it as nothing that my claim is consistent with the principles of religion and fortified by the authority of law. Let it be supposed that emancipation could be effected by a magical word and with safety to myself and fellow-citizens—let it be supposed, that I could divest myself (as a Citizen of the South) of all interest in this matter—let it be supposed that I am consulting *exclusively* the comfort and happiness of my slave. I see him obedient, industrious, comfortable and happy. He discharges with fidelity his duty to me—he is attached to my person and household—he desires no change—*he is incapable of enjoying a better lot.* I repay his services with food, clothing and protection.

And the question is brought home to my conscience, before the world and in the presence of my God: *what is my duty to this being?* Shall I turn him loose to become idle, unruly and wretched? Shall I cause him to sink into a condition more degraded and *infinitely less comfortable* than the one he has hitherto occupied? or to be sent abroad to perish with famine or by violence? Shall I influenced by a false and pernicious humanity, bring misery and ruin upon his unconscious head? or is it not my *duty* to avert these consequences? is it not my *duty* to continue the necessary (but not severe) restraints of a master's authority? Is it not my *duty* to protect him against his own weakness and shield him from the cruel mercies of the misguided Philanthropist, and the furious Fanatic? is it not—but enough. I need no labored homilies—no treatise on national law—no legislative enactments to teach me my duty: it is engraven on my heart. *This being is under my care and protection.* By providence have I been ap-

pointed the guardian of his comfort and his life. Circumstances may *force* us apart; but I will not—I cannot—I dare not *abandon* the trust!

And this is the feeling and resolution of the South. The danger is not at home. Our slaves are contented. Our citizens are able to protect their property and lives. The danger is from abroad. Yes, the danger is from the inhabitants of our *Sister States*—the danger is lest the fanatic shall carry out his wicked and unholy designs—the danger is lest the weak and honest-minded shall be deceived by the specious pleas of these fanatics—the danger is, lest the just and intelligent Citizens of these shall stand by in apathy and see attached our best and dearest Interests. To those who may be ignorant and misguided I would say "you are mistaken—you are grossly deceived. Slavery at the South is no evil—*it is a blessing to both master and Slave.* It is sanctioned by Religion—it is justified in Law—There is a stern necessity which we cannot remove. You imagine that you are promoting our interests and the happiness of our Slaves. You imagine that you are advocates of Humanity and Religion. Never was there a greater—a more fatal—a more lamentable error. Your Religion is worse than misguided zeal—*Your humanity is horrible cruelty.* Think—reflect—ere you bring direful destruction on both Master and Slave. Pause ere the objects of your kindness, become the *miserable victims* of your fanaticism and your folly!" To those who have not been blinded, and whose hearts have not yet been hardened by the sophistry and the wicked devices of the Abolitionist and Incendiary, (and surely there are many such),—to our sister States, I would urge another and stronger appeal, "you admit—you cannot deny that our rights are guaranteed by that Constitution which you are bound to support by all the obligations of self-interest, of honor, of patriotism and religion, will you permit this gross violation of our Rights? Will you by acquiescense sanction this outrage on humanity—This insult to Religion? Will you allow your People to offer to us a wrong which *as between Strangers*

would, (if not redressed), be met by a prompt appeal to the last resort of Nations! Think not that you are safe! The mischief meant for us, will recoil on you! The blow directed at our Rights, will crush your own! Waste not the precious time in professions of Friendship--give us *action* for *words*--Rise in your might--You have the power--check the deluded--crush the miscreant within your borders. In the name of justice--in the name of American Liberty, we hold up before you the Constitution of the Common Country and *demand as of right* that you redeem the pledge so solemnly, so irrevocably given. By all that is euobling in the past--by all that is valuable in the present--By all that is glorious in the future, we conjure you, force us not to protect ourselves against *fratricidal* attack--force us not to reverse the great National maxim and say, "Divided we stand--United we fall!" Let not the pure Altar of American Freedom be polluted, and its fair Temple, destroyed by the hand of the deluded Fanatic and the vile Incendiary. We cannot believe that you will disregard this call. We cannot think that the Land of Walcott and Williams--of Livingston and Lewis--of Hancock and Warren, will be deaf to our appeal. But if this *must* be--why then we tell you *plainly, that the lessons of* 76 *are neither forgotton nor impractible*--we tell you further--that the descendants of Marion and Moultrie--of Rutledge and Laurens--of Gadsden and Hayne--*are worthy of their Sires and true to themselves.*" For the Abolitionists--the *impudent pretenders* to Humanity and Religion--the *infamous wretches*--the *dastardly miscreants--the vile instigators of villainous cut-throats*--I have no appeal, while using every effort to deprive us of our Rights--to disturb our repose--to alarm and distract the minds of those who are near to us in blood and dearer in affection--to render our slaves wretched and miserable--to plunge our happy land into a servile war, and cover it with desolation--they *affect* to talk of humanity and free discussion--they even *pollute* the name of freedom, and say they do no more than exercise those sacred Rights and "Privileges which the Constitution has guarantied to every

Citizen." Their *Devilish* Philanthropy is equalled only by their imperturbable assurance. They can "quote Scripture for their purpose."

They do the "Devil's bidding, and call it God's" service. They come with the language of our *Saviour* on their lips, but with the malice and hypocricy of *Satan* in their hearts. Do they profane the name of Justice, Humanity and Religion? If actions are to form a criterion for motive, they care not 6¼ cents for the principles of justice—they care not *a pinch of snuff* for the interests of Humanity—They care not *a snap of the finger* for the Gospel of God! If they aim at the character of martyrs (which is somewhat questionable) I hope that they will meet an *appropriate* fate; altho' if their Fellow Citizens respected those sacred Rights, which the Constitution has guarantied to *us* they would seize the *incorrigible rascals* and lash them naked through the Land.

I am aware, Mr. Chairman, that I have indulged in expressions not usually heard in a public assembly. But I must adapt my language to the nature of the *subject*. I am at a loss for words to express my feelings towards those who not only attack our most valuable and sacred Rights but *with Ruffianly impudence* attempt to disturb *the peace and quiet of our domestic fire-sides*. History furnishes no parallel to their conduct. The impenitent thief on the cross might have plead unbelief for his excuse, and Judas Iscariot was tempted by the devil. I feel that I owe an apology for thus dwelling on a disgusting subject. I will only say that they should, by us, be treated with as little ceremony *as a Wolfe or a Polecat*. Unquestionably they are the *vilest wretches* north or south of the Potomac, when adding *blasphemy* to their other iniquities, they pray for the success of their hellish schemes.

It is however not the less necessary to adopt measures of self-protection.

This meeting has not been called for the purpose of creating an excitement or making a display. The interests con-

nected with the objects of this meeting are too important and valuable to admit of idle declamation. The serious and peremptory question recurs *what course shall we pursue?* It is very respectfully presented that the report of your Committee with the Resolutions annexed, mark out the course of conduct which we should adopt.

In that report and those resolutions it is declared that you will not admit (on the part of another) even discussion—much less interference,on the subject of these Rights—Rights guaranteed by the Constitution— consistent with the Principles of Justice and Morality, and sanctioned by Religion. It is further declared that any such interference (come from whatever source it may), will be promptly repelled *at al-hazards*—proper measures of precaution and vigilance are pointed out. The just and patriotic citizens and the constituted authorities of our Sister States are exhorted and *called on* to crush the schemes of the Fanatic and the Incendiary to perform the duty which they owe to *us* and to *themselves*, to the Constitution and to the country—to Justice, to Humanity, and to God! But *if* our Sister States, disregarding alike, the obligation imposed by the Constitution and international Law, should *not* respond to the call, then your Committee recommend *that the subject be referred to the united wisdom and united power of the Southern States!*

To go further for the present would be premature and injudicious. When the voice of the South shall be heard I feel assured that my fellow-citizens of Barnwell will be neither the last to respond nor the first to retract. In the mean time let us act up to the spirit and intent of these Resolutions. In particular, let us avoid alike culpable supineness and unnecessary rigour, remembering *that our Property is to be protected* and that the enemy is the *Fanatic* and the *Incendiary*. Above all, fellow-citizens, let us be united at home. Away with trifling distinctions in relation to a subject like this. A *Curse* upon political bickerings when the issue involves our best and dearest interests—all for which

"We love to live, or dare to die."

Let us show to the world that we thoroughly understand our Rights, that we are fully prepared and *sternly resolved* to defend them!

Mr. Chairman, allow me once more to advert to the language of the A A 1740 *(That this class of beings shall be and are hereby declared to be and remain for ever hereafter, absolute Slaves)* as indicating *the settled policy* of the State. That principle was set forth nearly a century ago and daily experience shows the sagacity of those who originated and sustained that policy. To those conversant with Carolina sentiments and principles it needs no "second sight" to tell that when that policy is attacked, the Union is endangered. The impudence of the Fanatic and the villainous acts of the miscreant may be borne; but if the Federal Government or our Sister States should venture to assail us on this point to strike at our Policy a blow, though *weaker than that from the finger of the new born babe*, the Bonds which bind us to the union, tho' stronger than adamant, would be dissolved, Nay more, if this *is to be* the cause of separation—highly as I appreciate the advantages of that union, (and I think that in times past I have given some practical proofs of devotedness), I, for one, would say, *let it come and come quickly*. Yes, let it come like the thunderbolt's wing and dash us forever apart! I hope —I trust for better things.

But let those who attack our domestic policy, *know* and *remember* that they wage a war against themselves—that they wage a war against the *existence* of this government—that they wage a war against *the principles of constitutional liberty* —principles for which our Sires stood shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of battle and literally marched with naked and blood-stained footsteps to victory—principles for which Virginia's Henry spoke, and Carolina's Marion fought, and the gallant Warren fell—principles which have descended to us as a rich inheritance endeared and ennobled and consecrated by the names and the toil, and the blood of Hampden, Hancock and Hayne—of Henry Laurens and Christopher Gadsden!

But not alone for the benefit and welfare of the Union must the policy of the A. A. 1740 be sustained. Dear and invaluable as that union is, there are objects more dear and valuable—the interests and the rights of Carolina—our liberties—our existence as a State.

And is it supposed that we can stand by and tamely see these liberties attacked—that existence in peril? Deep would be the regret and bitter the tears with which we would witness the downfall of our commen liberties. But *deeper* the regret would be felt and *bitterer* tears would be shed when we beheld our once cheerful hearthstones, cold and desolate —our once fruitful fields bearing the briar and the thistle—our towns in decay—our population stricken with poverty and despair—our State—our own Carolina—shorn of her influence and honors abroad and at home sinking into hopeless remediless ruin! Or, (to look to the other dread alternative), when the Fanatic and the Incendiary will *gloat* over the success of their infernal schemes "when the blood of our sons will fatten our corn fields—when the war whoop of death will wake the sleep of our cradles—when the darkness o midnight will glitter with the blaze of our dwellings"—when the streets and highways of our state, will be flowed with the best blood of the best of her children—when the Sun will rise to look upon triumphant slaves and slaughtered victims or *more wretched survivers*—when after passing through scenes of blood and carnage and horror, one of the fairest and happiest and noblest portions of the civilized world will be converted into a region *fruitful only in crimes and frightful with desolation!*

Fellow-Citizens, the kindness with which my remarks have been received have induced me (unconsciously) to trespass on your time and attention to an unreasonable extent. I cannot however conclude without expressing the hope that no one will understand me as having uttered sentiments at varience with the political principles by which I have been hitherto guided. *Those politicel principles*, (important 'tis true to none but myself), *have undergone no change.* I have said to day *no more* than what I would have said in 1832, had this

subject been then in agitation; and I said in 1832 what I would have *repeated* to day had the occasion been similar; yet were it otherwise, not even the dread of the charge of political inconsistency could have deterred me from going with you *hand and heart for Southern rights and Southern interests.* Happily for myself, *no such sacrifice is required.* We meet (I repeat it) on common ground, and there is no diminution to the pleasure with which I give to your measures my unqualified approbation and prompt support.

I also intreat you to believe that I have not endeavoured to excite the fears or rouse the passions of any. I apprehend nothing for the present; though if it must come, better to us than to our children. But my object has been to express freely and fully my own feelings and opinions of the vitally important subject which we have met to consider; and further *to impress on the minds of all the clear, deep and unshaken conviction that the policy of the A A* 1740 *is inseparably connected and intertwined not only with the Rights and Interests but with the very existence of our State;* and that we must sustain our peculiar institutions or ruin in its most awful form awaits Carolina. If I judge aright the feelings and principles of those around me, I speak the language of all when I say *we will sustain those Institutions!* Yes, Sons of Carolina, by the honour of men—by all that we value and all that we love, we will sustain those Institutions *to the last drop of our blood!* "RIGHT, JUSTICE AND HUMANITY" IS OUR MOTTO! "IN GOD OUR TRUST!"

ERRATUM.

Page 28, lines 7 and 8, for (the Constitution of the United States having no voice in this matter) read (the Constitution of the United States containing nothing to the contrary.)

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